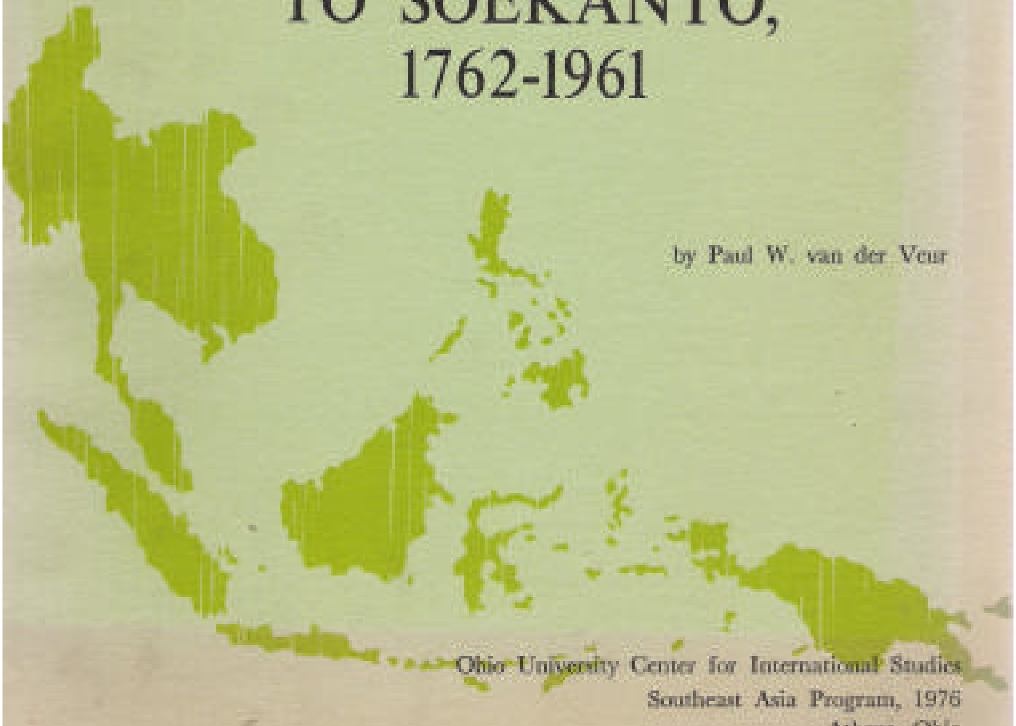
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FREEMASONRY IN INDONESIA FROM RADERMACHER TO SOEKANTO, 1762-1961



by Paul W. van der Veur

Ohio University Center for International Studies
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TABLE



FREEMASONRY IN INDONESIA FROM RADERMACHER TO SOEKANTO, 1762-1961*

Masonic lodges, as well as individuals, were prominent in colonial Indonesia.[1] Apart from the possible influence of individual Masons on Dutch colonial policy and practice, conditions peculiar to the colony provided Masonic lodges with a prominent role in social, cultural, and educational fields. Before discussing Freemasonry in Indonesia it seems appropriate to comment briefly on its general origins and tenets.

Modern Freemasonry is an early eighteenth-century European phenomenon, but its roots go back to Medieval stonemasons' guilds and ancient and mythical past. The transformation into modern Freemasonry occurred when lodges of stonemasons in England and Scotland began to admit as "Gentlemen Masons" men prominent in society and interested in architecture.[2] The declining role of the traditional masonic lodges and friction

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*Appreciation is expressed herewith to Mr. B. Croisset van Uchelen, Curator of the Library of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands in The Hague, for introducing me to the Library of the Grand Lodge and providing me with valuable information during my stay in the Netherlands in early 1971 and, subsequently, by correspondence. This article is a revised and expanded version of a paper delivered at the Conference on Modern Indonesian History, Madison, Wisconsin, July 19, 1975. Although names of Masons mentioned in the text are derived from Masonic sources, some reservation has to be expressed as membership at times is not entirely certain.

[1]Studies on Freemasonry in colonial areas are relatively scarce and most data are buried in not easily accessible Masonic publications. The Grand Lodge in Indonesia did sponsor two major publications: *Gedenkboek van de Vrijmetselarij in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, 1767-1917* (Semarang, Soerabaia, 's-Gravenhage: G.C. T. van Dorp & Co., n.d.) (Cited hereafter as *Gedenkboek.*) and D. de Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel* (Surabaya: G.C.T. van Dorp, 1931). Apart from the fact that these contributions are, of course, in Dutch, they are not generally available. For Freemasonry in the Philippines, see John N. Schumacher, S. J., "Philippine Masonry to 1890," *Asian Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (August 1966), 328-341. *Also* Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Philippine Masonry*, translated and edited by Frederic H. Stevens and Antonio Amechazurra (Manila, 1956).

[2]H. L. Haywood and James E. Craig, *A History of Freemasonry* (New York: The John Day Co., 1927), p. 207.

between the two types of members led the "non-operatives" in London to found a Grand Lodge on the feast day of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1717. Five years later, a Masonic *Book of Constitutions* was adopted.[3] The language and crude ritualistic observances which "once had been used for the guidance of a working craft" now were given "a symbolical meaning for the guidance of a speculative society which had no concern with mechanical business."[4] With these changes, the "Masonic idea" spread with astonishing rapidity. Its offerings were both timely and timeless: conviviality, ritual and symbolism, secrecy, mutual aid, occultism and, especially appealing during the period of Enlightenment, a syncretistic belief in a Great Architect, and notions of inquiry, tolerance, and universal brotherhood.[5]

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the registry of Masons included such names as Voltaire, Diderot, and Lafayette in France; Mozart, Haydn, Schiller, and Goethe in Austria and Germany; Walter Scott, Robert Burns, and Lord Byron in England; Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Monroe, and Washington in the "Thirteen Colonies"; and "liberal" monarchs in Austria (Josef II) and Prussia (Frederick the Great). In contrast, royal edicts in France in 1737 and papal bulls (after 1738) were part of an unsuccessful effort to suppress the Order in France, Italy, Spain, and Poland.

Being a Mason had become *bon ton* in European intellectual circles. At the same time, however, anti-Masonic

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[3]Ibid., pp. 222-32.

[4]Ibid., p. 228 (italics in original omitted). Thus "the unhewn stone" is said to represent man in his infant or primitive state; the polished stone, man in the decline of years; and Solomon's Temple, perfected man. Norman I. MacKenzie, ed., *Secret Societies* (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 162.

[5]On this point *see* J. M. Roberts, *The Mythology of Secret Societies* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), pp. 26-27, 48-57, 90-92.

publications began to appear which played on the widespread fears and beliefs about the omnipresence and omnipotence of secret societies.[6] Freemasonry's secrecy was ascribed to evil and the devil and its world-wide spread to international conspiracy. Beginning in the 1840s, writers with strongly anti-Semitic views linked Masons and Jews together in what became one of the most powerful myths of the next one hundred years in such countries as France, Spain, and Germany.[7] In the period between World Wars I and II the Order was banned in several Fascist countries and denounced by the Comintern. During the 1940s, the German SS formed a special anti-Masonic section, which in German-occupied countries pursued Masonic secrets, closed down lodges, and carried members off to concentration camps.[8]

Although the accusation that Masons were engaged in an "international conspiracy" may appear persuasive to some, each Grand Order was actually for the most part a separate national unit adapted to local conditions. This meant that in several Catholic countries the Order generally held strongly anti-clerical views while in some, where Protestantism was the state religion and members of the royal family frequently formally headed the Craft (as in Britain and the Netherlands), a *modus vivendi* was worked out. Moreover, even within individual countries, lodges frequently were able to preserve almost complete autonomy.[9] It is also true that lodges (i[illegible]n of their proclamations of brotherhood) generally consisted of members of

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[6]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[7]Jacob Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723-1939*, translated by Leonard Oschry (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 148 ff.

[8]Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, pp. 348-49.

[9]Sj. Groenman, "Enkele Sociologische Aspecten van de Vrijmetselarij," in *Vrijmetselarij, 1756-1956* (Bussum: C.A.J. van Dishoeck, 1957), pp. 83-84.

the monied and aristocratic classes. But, these men still held a diversity of viewpoints. This explains the steadfast rule of the British (and Dutch) Grand Orders not to enter into political and religious debate as an Order. Finally, Grand Orders differ greatly in the elaboration of rites. In contrast to the many degrees of Freemasonry in the United States and France, for example, Dutch Freemasonry remained simple and, with only minor exceptions, adhered to the three original degrees of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master.[10]

The Establishment of Freemasonry in Indonesia. Freemasonry in the Netherlands, after an ill-fated start in the 1730s which led to its temporary prohibition, emerged as a national Order in 1756 when delegates from several lodges met in The Hague and elected a Grand Master. Individual Freemasons soon appeared in the European colonies. The founding of the first Masonic lodge in Indonesia, *La Choisie*, occurred at Batavia in 1762 and was due to the initiative of J. C. M. Radermacher, whose father had been the first Grand Master in the Netherlands in the 1730s. Radermacher had joined the East India Company at age sixteen. By 1761 he had risen to the rank of Chief Merchant and married the daughter of the late Hugo Verijssel, a member of the Council of the Indies; his wife's mother's second husband was Reinier de Klerk, special member of the Council of the Indies who was destined to become Director-General in 1775 and Governor-General in 1717.[11]

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[10] *Gould's History of Freemasonry Throughout the World*, revised by Dudley White, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), Vol. III, p. 219.

[11] A biographical sketch appears in T. H. der Kinderen, comp., *Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen gedurende de eerste Eeuw van zijn Bestaan, 1778-1878. Gedenkboek* (Batavia, 1879), Vol. I, Appendix X, pp. lxxiii-lxxvii.

La Choisie's existence was short-lived, possibly because of Radermacher's temporary return to the Netherlands in 1764. Soon a new lodge arose, *La Fidèle Sincérité*, popularly referred to after its chosen color as "The Blue Lodge." With most of its members consisting of sailors and military, Company officials and rich landholders preferred to found a separate lodge, *La Vertueuse* or "Yellow Lodge" in 1768.[12] During this early period, anti-Masonic feelings among high Company officials were strong enough that Masonic meeting places had to be kept secret. The first meetings in Batavia were held in the back room of the *Stads Herberg* (City Inn). Since the innkeeper was in East India Company service, the arrangement necessitated extending membership to him.[13] Later, meetings were held at the homes of individual members. By the 1780s the need for secrecy had vanished. This seems to have occurred because membership had now penetrated into the upper echelons of the East India Company hierarchy: the son-in-law of Governor-General Alting (1780-97), Johannes Siberg, was a Mason and so was Alting's personal secretary, P. G. van Overstraten. Both Van Overstraten and Siberg were to become Governor-General at later periods (1797-1801 and 1801-05, respectively). After some presumably rather prosperous brothers had collected the sum of "12,000 *rijksdaalders*" (about $12,000, exclusively to be used for the "Yellow Lodge"), the cornerstone for its Temple was laid on January 18, 1786, in the presence of "members of the government and many other important citizens of Batavia with their ladies."[14]

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[12] *Honderd-vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Nederlandsche Vrijmetselarij* (Amsterdam: H. J. W. Becht, 1931), p. 55.

[13] J. Hageman, *Geschiedenis der Vrijmetselarij, in de Oostelijke en Zuidelijke Deelen des Aardbols* (Soerabaya: Thieme Kolff & Co., 1866), pp. 39-40.

[14] *Gedenkboek*, p. 164.

The next logical extension of Masonic activity was to the town of Semarang, at that time the administrative and military headquarters for the Northeast coast of Java. Following the institution of the position of Deputy Grand Master for the Indies by the Grand Lodge in Holland in 1798 -- a post filled in the colony by Nicolaas Engelhard from 1798 until 1823 -- "a propaganda tour" was conducted. The Semarang lodge, *La Constance et Fidèle* was quickly established by seventeen Masons with the Governor and Director of Java's Northeast coast becoming the lodge's first Worshipful Master.[15] Surabaya counted some Masons among its tiny European population but a lodge was not founded until Governor-General Daendels (1808-11) implemented plans for the town's new role in the administrative and territorial structure of the colony. The new lodge, *De Vriendschap*, was founded in 1809. In contrast with the financial problems of other lodges, this lodge almost immediately gained a favorable start because one member, B. H. J. van Cattenburgh, gave it an extensive piece of land, in an area called Petundjungan (now Tunjungan), south of Surabaya, near Simpang.[16]

In spite of the extension of lodges, troublesome times arose. The Semarang lodge, envious and fearful of control by Batavia, repeatedly ignored instructions from the Deputy Grand Master. In Batavia itself, Daendels (probably a Mason himself) suspected that members of the local lodges were infected with pro-British sentiment. In March 1811 he not only confiscated part of the Masonic

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[15]Ibid., pp. 136-37.

[16]*Gedenkschrift Uitgegeven bij Gelegenheid van het 125-jarig Bestaan* [of the lodge *De Vriendschap*], *28 November 1934* (Malang: NIMEF, 1935). Actually, the original act was a long-term lease. Shortly after Van Cattenburgh died, the land covered by the lease, together with some additional acreage, was ceded to the lodge by his widow at a nominal cost.

archives but also dismissed and arrested several members of the government (including Engelhard) and all members of the Council of Justice.[17] Although these Masons were released after the arrival of Governor-General J. W. Janssens, the lodges remained temporarily closed. In May 1813, Engelhard founded a small lodge, *Virtutis et Artis Amici*, on his land-holding of Pondok-Gedeh, near Bogor. It lasted until 1815. It was at this lodge that the Governor-General of British India, the Earl of Minto (himself a Mason) was welcomed and Lt. Governor Raffles was initiated as an apprentice.[18]

Masonic activity for a long time remained limited to the three major European centers on Java and generally maintained a tranquil appearance. During this period the two lodges in Batavia did merge their endeavors into a combined lodge, *De Ster in het Oosten* (The Star in the East), in 1837. An accelerated growth around 1870 resulted in the founding of lodges in most major towns of Java and in some of the larger European centers in Sumatra and Sulawesi during the following years. (*See* Table I). In smaller towns, the existence of so-called *Vrijmetselaarskringen* (Freemasonry groups) depended upon small, fluctuating memberships.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, individual lodges practically were autonomous units, operating in isolation from each other. This circumstance led the Rev. A. S. Carpentier Alting, a former editor of the *Maçonniek Weekblad* in the Netherlands, to propagandize the establishment of a colonial masonic journal in an effort to achieve greater unity. His initial attempts from Padang were unsuccessful but after his duties as minister had taken him to Semarang, he found a receptive hearing from two Masons who happened to be managers of the book and printing company G. C. T. van Dorp. The decision was to issue a monthly scholarly journal in which one would be free to write on

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[17] *Honderd-vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Nederlandsche Vrijmetselarij*, p. 56.

[18] *Gedenkboek*, p. 454.

TABLE I

MASONIC LODGES AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP
(1940)

Category	*Town*	*Date Establ.*	*Name of Lodge*	*....Members in 1940....* *Total*	*Indons.*	*Chinese*
	Batavia	1762	La Choisie[1]	-	-	-
Before 1815 (Java)	Batavia	1767	La Fidèle Sincérité[2]	-	-	-
	Batavia	1768	La Vertueuse[2]	-	-	-
	Semarang	1798	La Constante et Fidèle	79	3	4
	Surabaya	1809	De Vriendschap	142	4	2
	Pondok-Gedeh	1813	Virtutis et Artis Amici[3]	-	-	-
	Batavia	1837	De Ster in het Oosten[4]	163	1	1
	Yogyakarta	1870	Mataram	48	5	1
After 1870 (Java)	Surakarta	1872	L'Union Frédéric Royal	24	6	-
	Probolinggo	1882	Veritas	18	2	-
	Buitenzorg	1891	Excelsior	36	1	-
	Magelang	1896	Tidar	22	3	1
	Bandung	1896	Sint-Jan	193	2	1
	Salatiga	1896	Fraternitas	11	-	1
	Tegal	1898	Humanitas	45	7	1
	Malang	1901	Malang	86	-	-
	Blitar	1906	Blitar	8	-	-
	Kediri	1918	De Dageraad	28	2	-
	Batavia	1918	Het Zuiderkruis	49	-	-
	Batavia	1919	De Broederketen	26	2	-
	Djember	1926	De Driehoek	17	-	-
	Bandung	1931	Broedertrouw	33	3	-
	Purwokerto[5]		Serajudal	13	5	-
	Sukabumi[5]		De Hoeksteen	30	1	-
Other parts of Indonesia	Padang	1858	Mata Hari	26	1	-
	Kota Radja	1877	Prins Frederik	14	-	-
	Makassar	1882	Arbeid Adelt	51	-	1
	Medan	1889	Deli	76	2	-
	Palembang[5]		Palembang	24	-	1
			TOTALS....	1,262	50	14

[1]Ceased about 1767.
[2]Merged into "*De Ster in het Oosten*" in 1837.
[3]Ceased in 1815.
[4]A merger of the two existing Batavia lodges.
[5]The exact date is not available to the author but is probably in the mid-1930s.

Source compilation: For 1940 membership figures: *Ledenlijst van de Loges behoorende tot de Provinciale Grootloge van Nederlandsch-Indië; bij den aanvang van het Werkjaar 1940-1941.* Not included are small numbers in *Vrijmetselaarskringen.*

any subject. The *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift* certainly offered non-masonic readers far more than the usual masonic journal. It also served the purpose of creating closer ties among Masons in Indonesia.[19] It may have resulted in a March 1896 request by the isolated lodge in Kota Radja, Atjeh, for closer cooperation. The Deputy Grand Master responded by inviting representatives from all lodges in Indonesia to a meeting in Batavia in early 1897. Although there was some opposition at first due to the fear of loss of autonomy, a Provincial Grand Lodge was inaugurated on December 25, 1899.[20]

Masonic Membership. Membership figures for Masons in the period before 1920 are an unreliable indicator of total membership. Until the Order's 1917 Constitution, a Mason was not required to be a member of a Lodge. Some lodges, stricter than others, refused to accept "transfers"; in other cases, Masons ceased as lodge members because of the high annual dues and the financial demands made upon them for entertainment and charity.[21] Listed membership

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[19]J. H. Carpentier Alting, "Het Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift, 1895-1917," in *Gedenkboek*, pp. 459-67. Volumes I-L of the Journal (1895/96-1948/49) appeared under the above title; volumes LI-LVI (1949/50-1954/55) appeared as *Maçonniek Tijdschrift voor Indonesië*. Since 1910, an edition has been printed in the Netherlands as the *Maçonniek Tijdschrift*.

[20]*Gedenkboek*, pp. 107-18.

[21]Transfers from one town to another were common. *Mata Hari* (Padang), for example, had a membership of 33 in the beginning of 1872 and ended the year with 13 members (*Loge Mata Hari in het Oosten van Padang, 1859-1934, Gedenkboek*, n.p., n.d.). In Batavia, Th. G. G. Valette saw in one year the departure of 50 members and the arrival of 52 others; *Gedenkboek*, p. 606. As for not accepting "transfers," the 1824 statement of the Worshipful Master of the Surabaya lodge may be somewhat unusual: "The Lodge *De Vriendschap* is strict. There are one hundred Masons in Surabaya but the Lodge has only thirty members." H. Maarschalk, *Geschiedenis van de Orde der Vrijmetselaren in Nederland, onderhoorige Koloniën en Landen* (Breda: P. B. Nieuwenhuijs, 1872), p. 387.

Also, the cost of being a Mason was considerable. *Mata Hari*, for example, lists an initiation fee of Fl. 75, and levies of Fl. 35 and Fl. 75 for advancing to Fellowcraft and Master, respectively. *De Vriendschap* in the early part of the 19th century charged a monthly membership fee of 8 *Rijksdaalders*; *Gedenkboek*, p. 265.

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century hovered around 65. Practically all of these members were in high governmental or military positions. During this time, being a Mason obviously provided an entrée to elite circles, and the number of aspiring *particulieren* (individuals in private occupations) began to increase. Figures for 1858 reveal this trend: of 218 members, *particulieren* numbered 140.[22] The significant expansion of Masonic lodges following 1870 also reflected a general increase in membership. By 1894 there were 567 Masons in Java alone; by 1940 the number was 1,071 in lodges in Java and 191 in Sumatra and Celebes.[23]

Who were Masons? This question can be answered on the basis of an (incomplete) list of names for 1760-1860 and records of annual membership lists for the whole of Indonesia since the 1920s. No such compilation, unfortunately, exists for the intervening period although it could be drawn up from the records of individual lodges. The 1760-1860 registry gives about 1,200 names.[24] Among them the Indonesia specialist recognizes major personalities in colonial history: Governors-General (Van Overstraten, Siberg, Raffles, De Kock, Van den Bosch, De Eerens, Reynst, and Sloet van de Beele); military figures (De Kock, Vermeulen Krieger, Verheull); writers (Roorda van Eijsinga); and landholders (Dezentjé, Van Riemsdijk, Van Polanen Petel, Senn van Basel, Van Motman). Also those active in "protest" movements in 1795 (Dirk

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[22] De Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, p. 200.

[23] Ibid. for the numbers for 1894. For the 1940 compilation, *see Ledenlijst van de Loges behoorende tot de Provinciale grootloge van Nederlandsch-Indië; bij den aanvang van het Werkjaar 1940-1941* (Malang: NIMEF, 1941).

[24] "Naamlijst van Vrijmetselaren in Ned. Oost Indië van 1760 tot 1860," in De Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, pp. 298-309.

van Hogendorp, J. H. Hartman, C. van Naersse); and 1848 (P. C. Ardesch, W. Bosch, H. C. A. Thieme and L. J. A. Tollens). The participation of Masons in the Batavian Academy of Arts and Sciences also should be mentioned. Masons were major contributors to the first volumes of that body's *Verhandelingen* (Transactions) and at least five of the fourteen presidents of the Society between 1778 and 1853, and more than one-third of the 150 board members between 1778 and 1875 were Masons.[25]

Knowledge of members during the 1860-1910 period is limited by the paucity of records. But it is known that Masons included high military figures such as General K. van der Heyden, managers of publishing companies such as Van Dorp & Co., journalists such as J. A. Uilkens, scholars such as E. B. Kielstra, and members of the Council of the Indies. Material for the years after World War I is more abundant. Available are annual membership lists (giving the member's lodge, his name, and his occupation) as well as a survey conducted about 1930 under Masonic auspices.[26] This document indicates that of the approximately 1,500 Masons in Indonesia at that time, 597 (39.8 percent) were government officials, 161 (10.7 percent) officers in the military, and 742 (49.5 percent) *particulieren*. The *particulieren* were about evenly divided between *chefs* (managers) and *ondergeschikten* (subordinates). Over

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[25]Information derived from comparing Masonic memberships with those in the Batavian Academy as given in Der Kinderen, comp., *Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen gedurende de eerste Eeuw van zijn Bestaan, 1778-1878*, Appendix Y, pp. lxxix-lxxxiv. For an historical account of this Society, see my introduction in Lian The and Paul W. van der Veur, *The Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap: An Annotated Content Analysis*, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, No. 26 (Athens: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1973), pp. 1-26.

[26]"De Leden der Orde in Nederlandsch Oost Indië," in De Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, pp. 199-211.

30 percent of the total had received advanced academic training.[27]

Additional information is available for a smaller sample of 600 members.[28] The overwhelming majority were married (566) and two-thirds were in the 30-49 age bracket. As far as religion was concerned, almost one-half (292) indicated no affiliation with any particular Church; of the remainder most, not unexpectedly, belonged to the Dutch Reformed (214), Baptist (26), or other Protestant groupings (54). Those who had Catholic, Jewish, or Muslim affiliations numbered 5, 3, and 4, respectively, and there was one Christian Scientist. With regard to political party affiliation, over 70 percent (426) indicated that they did not belong to any political grouping. The remaining 174 generally belonged to status quo groups. Almost one-half (86) were members of the Eurasian organization, the *Indo-Europeesch Verbond* (IEV), 50 of the *Politiek Economischen Bond* (PEB), and 25 of the *Vaderlandsche Club* (VC). Small numbers were members of moderate, association-type parties such as the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Vrijzinnige Bond* (NIVB) (5), and the *Neutrale Partij* (10). The Indonesian association, *Budi Utomo*, provided five Masonic members, the socialistic *Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij* and a Chinese party, one each. Twelve members were associated with parties or groupings in the Netherlands.[29] All told, social and political activities for the 600 Masons surveyed totalled 3,878 -- an average of six memberships per person. Masons,

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[27]Ibid., p. 200.

[28]Ibid., pp. 202-05. All information in this paragraph is derived from these pages.

[29]There were some joint memberships. Thirteen IEV members also belonged to the PEB and four to the VC; two PEB members also belonged to the VC; and of five NIVB members, one was concurrently a member of the *Neutrale Partij* and one of *Budi Utomo*.

obviously, were active joiners.

The sizeable number of politically active Masons in the sample who were members of the *Indo-Europeesch Verbond* (IEV) deserves a brief comment. Many of these men held positions of leadership; three of the four IEV Chairmen between 1919 and 1941, for example, and five of the eight IEV members in the *Volksraad* in 1935, were Masons. One may hypothesize that the conditions were comparable to those under which Jews entered Masonry in Western Europe. Katz, in his study on the subject, notes that Masonic membership in nineteenth century Europe "gave evidence . . . of a secure and recognized status in the group constituting the central pillar of society as a whole."[30] This, in his opinion, explained Masonry's attractiveness to middle-class Jews. Acceptance meant "a sense of personal accomplishment, and the overcoming of the social barrier blocking his group."[31] Similarly, Eurasians, seem to have found in Freemasonry, brotherhood, equality, and contacts with important figures in colonial society.

A check of the 1940-41 membership list indicates a large number of doctors, engineers, teachers, bookkeepers, and planters as well as a sizeable number of governmental officials in high functions: the Governors of Central Java, Yogyakarta, and Borneo; the Residents of Magelang, Bodjonegoro, Medan, and Palembang; the Mayors of three major urban centers (Bandung, Batavia, and Semarang) as well as those of Madiun and Padang.[32] It is of interest

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[30]Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723-1939*, p. 211.

[31]Ibid., p. 212.

[32]*Ledenlijst van de Loges behoorende tot de Provinciale grootloge van Nederlandsch-Indië; bij den aanvang van het Werkjaar 1940-1941*, p. 110.

that the Mayor of Madiun, R. Ng. Soebroto, was the first and only Indonesian to hold this position in the pre-World War II period. This might lead one to hypothesize that Masonic membership may have assisted him in gaining this post. Others noticed in the membership list are the Heads of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the Health Service, and the Astronomical Observatory; a member of the Council of Justice, several members of the People's Council and the Council of the Indies, and several Generals. Finally, one is struck by the fact that the Chief Editors of four major papers: the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, the *Deli Courant*, *De Java Bode*, and the *Soerabaiaasch Handelsblad*, were members of the Order.

Indonesian and Chinese Membership. Although there were no constitutional barriers to admitting Indonesians and Chinese to the Order, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the first "converts" were made. From that time, a slow increase in membership occurred, involving mainly men from upper-class, aristocratic, or well-to-do circles.

The first Indonesian to be accepted (in 1844), was Abdul Rachman, a great-grandchild of the Sultan of Pontianak.[33] Also initiated during this period was the well-known Javanese painter, Raden Saleh. The first Chinese to apply was The Boen Keh, Lieutenant of the Chinese in Surabaya and a sugar producer. His application was initially rejected in 1856 after a two-hour debate during which numerous objections were raised to "the opinionated and indelible Chinese concepts of virtue and vice, life and death, promises and secrets" which seemed "diametrically opposed to Western tenets and conceptions."[34] The

[33] *Gedenkboek*, p. 268.

[34] R. Soeparto, "Het Oostersch Element," in *Gedenkschrift Uitgegeven bij Gelegenheid van het 125-jarig Bestaan*, p. 49.

following year, however, after a specially appointed committee had kept him under close observation, the candidate's application was favorably reconsidered. But The Boen Keh's request to have the rituals explained to him in Malay (as early Indonesian was called) was brushed aside with the comment that it seemed simpler for him to learn Dutch.[35] Brothers in the newly established Lodge *Mataram* in Yogyakarta appeared to take a much more cosmopolitan view of the membership application of Ko Ho Sing. Not only was he admitted in 1871, but he quickly received the degree of Master because he "not only mastered the teachings of Confucius but also applied them both in and outside the Masonic Temple."[36]

During 1875 the Surabaya Lodge *De Vriendschap*, after a favorable report, admitted its first Javanese member, Raden Pandjie Onggowidjojo, an *Ondercollecteur* at Sidoardjo. It also considered the applications of the Sultan of Kutei and three of his *Pangeran* (princes). The applications were temporarily in jeopardy when one of the princes assured the Presiding Master that he would not shrink from committing a murder if the Lodge ordered him to do so. However, after one Brother explained that a statement like that "in the mouth of an Easterner" should be seen "only as an expression of unlimited faith in the principles of the Order," the applicants were admitted.[37] Another early Mason was R. A. Pandji Tjokronegoro, Regent of Surabaya, who celebrated his golden (membership) anniversary in 1909. Successive rulers of the House of Paku Alam, the small principality

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[35] *Gedenkboek*, p. 268. The Boen Keh is an ancestor of Lian Hwa Nio The-Mulliner (daughter of The Sien Bie), Southeast Asia Bibliographer at Ohio University.

[36] Ibid., p. 526.

[37] Soeparto, "Het Oostersch Element," in *Gedenkschrift Uitgegeven bij Gelegenheid van het 125-jarig Bestaan*, p. 50.

within the Yogyakarta Sultanate, also were members. An uncle of Paku Alam VIII, Pangeran Ario Notodirodjo was active in the Lodge *Mataram* and the first President of *Budi Utomo*

At the centennial celebration of the constitutional existence of the Lodge in Batavia in 1869, the main speaker stated that the goal of Freemasonry was "the assimilation of the various races in the East so that all will become Brothers." This statement was qualified, however by the admission that such a development was bound to take time and might well come about "as slowly as the cooling of the earth."[38] By 1917, during another commemoration, a different view had come to prevail. It was thought that Freemasonry could be considered a failure until there were so many Indonesian and Chinese Brothers that "separate lodges could be founded for and by them" and a majority of the lodges were Indonesian and Chinese.[39] It was also clear to perceptive Masons that the medium of communication in such lodges had to be a language other than Dutch.[40]

The names of Indonesian members found in the 1922, 1932, and 1940-41 membership lists are presented in Appendix B and reveal a preponderance of Javanese names. Masonic interpretations of the moderate recruiting success among Javanese *priyayi* (notables) and the

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[38]*100 Jaren Mac. . Arbeid in het Licht van de Ster in het Oosten; 1837 -- 19 Augustus - 1937* (n.p., n.d.), p. 70.

[39]*Gedenkboek*, pp. 593-94.

[40]When W. Ch. A. Doeve, in his article "Javaansche Loges," *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift* XXXIX (1933-34): 558-60, argued that different "language lodges" would be a divisive element and that it made more sense to continue to use Dutch, the editors of the *Tijdschrift*, in a vigorous post-script, countered his arguments. Defending the use of Javanese, they retorted that "To replace a language spoken by 40 million by one spoken by 8, appears to us impossible." P. 561.

almost total lack of appreciation among other ethnic groups are found in a number of publications. Without entering into a discussion of the merits of these views, the following examples may suffice:

> For the *Javanese*, these principles [of Freemasonry] tie in completely both with the old Javanese literature in which Buddhist conceptions are expressed and with the ethics of Islam.[41]

> The nature of the *Sundanese* is too shallow to occupy itself much with spiritual problems.[42]

> The *Malay*, generally, is too fanatically a Muslim to be open to the idea of a universal brotherhood.[43]

> For the *Chinese*, the teachings of Confucius contain much that is in accord with Masonic tendencies.[44]

And how did the "man in the street" refer to Freemasonry and its lodges? One finds the following statement as early as 1859: "The simple Javanese, in his childish simplicity and minimal desire to investigate, calls the building and its surroundings 'Gedong Setan' (House of Satan). . . . ."[45] Masonic explanations of the terms *Rumah Setan* or *Gedung Setan* say that it possibly is a

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[41]De Visser Smits, "Vrijmetselarij onder de Inheemschen," in *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, p. 213. Italics have been added in this and the following three quotations.

[42]*Honderd-vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Nederlandsche Vrijmetselarij*, p. 75.

[43]Ibid.

[44]De Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, p. 213.

[45]Hageman in *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje 1859*, cited in *Gedenkschrift Uitgegeven bij Gelegenheid van het 125-jarig Bestaan*, p. 24.

corruption of *Sint-Jan* (St. John) or of *rumah pemangsitan* (house of meditation).[46] However, since in neighboring Malaysia, Masonic lodges were referred to by Malays in almost identical terms as *rumah hantu* (Ghost House), the more logical explanation seems to be that the name referred to the secret and nocturnal nature of Masonic gatherings in these buildings.

What Freemasonry meant to an upper-class Javanese has been expressed perceptively by R. M. Poerbo Hadiningrat, Regent of Semarang, whose addresses to Brother Masons and Javanese non-Masons were published posthumously in 1927. Explaining why he became a Mason, Hadiningrat listed the following reasons:

> The urge, awakened in me at a more mature age, towards greater spiritual awareness; feelings [I had] of dissatisfaction, of emptiness, during moments of self-contemplation; [and] the exchange of ideas [which I had] with acquaintances who I knew belonged to the Order. . . .[47]

He then recounts his reaction to his acceptance as a member and subsequent initiation:

> The preliminary inquiry [into my character] made a very favorable impression on me. This was not an organization interested in making proselytes; to the contrary, the applicant understood that admission to the Order is something very special, a privilege. This created expectations; this was ceremonial. . . . *We Javanese like ceremony and ritual.*

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[46]De Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, p. 223. *See also* Soeparto, in *De Consecratie van Timur Agung Indonesia en de Reis van de Nederlandsche Grootmeester naar Z. O. Azië* (Jakarta: Orde van Vrijmetselaren onder het Grootoosten der Nederlanden, 1955), p. 53. (Cited hereafter as *De Consecratie.*)

[47]R. M. A. A. Poerbo Hadiningrat, *Wat ik als Javaan voor Geest en Gemoed in de Vrijmetselarij Heb Gevonden*, comp., P. A. A. Pakoe Alam (Buitenzorg: Archipel, n.d.), pp. 105-06.

> Blindfolded I was taken into their midst. . . . With complete conviction in my sincerity, I can still clearly hear my answer to the questions posed: "Only the aspiration of raising myself and our people led me to you. . . ."
>
> When the blindfold was taken off, I stood in a circle of men *who called me brother, who reached out to shake my hand, and who took me into their midst.* At that moment I felt myself bound to the Order by an invisible and unbreakable link.[48]

Hadiningrat in his addresses also discussed the religious issue. Emphasizing the negative reaction of the Javanese towards attempts at Christianization, he stressed that Indonesian society neither needed nor wanted a new religion.[49] Freemasonry, however, had "no binding dogma, religious or political" which hampered "the free expression of one's own conviction."[50] It also presented "*no choice between Allah or Jehovah*, but the recognition that only the Good could advance man and society."[51] Freemasonry, in other words, was not another divisive Western invention but a unifying factor. Hadiningrat's death deprived Indonesian masonry of a powerful and persuasive apostle.

By 1940, Indonesian Masons numbered fifty and Chinese Masons fourteen.[52] Almost half of the Indonesian members belonged to the governmental territorial administration: Regents, *Patihs*, *Wedonos* (district heads), and men attached to courts numbered 11, 5, 4, and 4, respectively. An additional seven individuals held other governmental positions. Four were Presidents of the *Landraad* (District Court);

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[48]Ibid., pp. 106-08. Italics added.

[49]Ibid., p. 99.

[50]Ibid., p. 55.

[51]Ibid., p. 98. Italics added.

[52]The information which follows is derived from the *Ledenlijst van de Loges behoorende tot de Provinciale grootloge van Nederlandsch-Indië; bij den aanvang van het Werkjaar 1940-1941.*

eight were medical doctors or veterinarians; and four were engineers. Finally, three members held important advisory or other posts in the colonial structure -- the Council of the Indies, the *Volksraad*, and city government. The minute Chinese category represented a very different picture: only one member was in government service; all others were in independent or semi-independent positions.

Indonesian and Chinese members were concentrated heavily in Central Java and the Principalities (*see* Table I). Of the total membership of 242 in lodges in these regions, Indonesians numbered 29 and Chinese 8, i.e., almost 3/5 of all Indonesian and 4/7 of all Chinese members throughout Indonesia. Only here, therefore, did non-European membership constitute more than token representation.

Masonic Activities. Masonic meetings were secret and decisions were implemented not by the Order or a particular Lodge but by individual members. Good deeds, therefore, remained hidden from the public eye. Special conditions in the colony -- the perceived needs of poor Europeans, the almost total lack of social concern by the Dutch East India Company (and later the colonial government) and the unstable and fluid nature of the European group -- caused considerable deviation from common Masonic practice and forced lodges to enter a wide field of social and cultural activities.[53] While recognizing this active role played by Freemasonry in Indonesia one must also take into account that there was a great emphasis on pomp, splendor, and secrecy and that the records of individual lodges are filled with references to banquets, the solemn

[53] *Honderd-vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Nederlandsche Vrijmetselarij*, p. 69.

laying of corner stones, and the building and maintenance of expensive temples.[54]

Three main, somewhat overlapping, periods of activity can be distinguished.[55] During the first (1770-1870), the emphasis was on philanthropy which gradually took the form of organized charity. This was directed not at Masons (most of whom were well-to-do) but needy Europeans and their children. During this era, Masons also contributed (as mentioned earlier on page 11) to the founding, growth, and direction of the Batavian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

During the second period (1860-1910) zealous expansion into vast numbers of socio-educational activities occurred.[56] This may have been an expression of "the spirit of the times": the rise of Liberalism in the Netherlands and its subsequent outgrowth known as the Ethical Policy, and its counterpart, the embryonic growth of a new altruism in the colony.[57] It

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[54]An account of the lodge *De Vriendschap* mentions that during most of the nineteenth century, "every formal occasion became a reason for holding a banquet"; *Gedenkboek*, p. 266. Commemorative volumes issued by some of the lodges, at times, deal with little else than solemn speeches at "solemn ritual consecrations." *See*, e.g., *Gedenkboek aangeboden door de Bbr.˙. Gezz.˙. en Leerll.˙. ter Gelegenheid van het Ingebruiknemen eener Nieuwe Werkpl.˙. door de A.˙. L.˙.˙"Malang"* (n.p., n.d.).

[55]This distinction is based upon one used by J. M. Koops and H. L. Maurer for *De Vriendschap*; *Gedenkboek*, p. 264. It seems, however, to be applicable to Masonic work in Indonesia in general.

[56]For a general account of social and educational work *see* De Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, pp. 180-211; also *Honderd-vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Nederlandsche Vrijmetselarij*, pp. 69-75. Finally, the *Gedenkboek* contains histories of individual lodges with an elaborate listing of their social and educational activities.

[57]Apart from an obscure reference in *Honderd-vijf-en-zeventig Jaren Nederlandsche Vrijmetselarij*, p. 69, this point cannot be documented.

also, in all likelihood, was a result of increasing membership, especially its civilian component. Individual lodges founded small libraries, loan banks, anti-usury societies, orphanages (in conjunction with the Protestant Church), recreation facilities for military personnel, and clothing and food funds for needy European pupils. Concern for the proper learning of the Dutch language led several lodges to found so-called *Fröbel* (kindergarten) schools.[58] Although mainly intended for European children, schools of some lodges such as those of Yogyakarta, Malang, and Padang also admitted Indonesian pupils. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the then prevailing bias that Europeans should not engage in manual labor, Masons in Batavia (in 1865), Makassar (1882), and Surabaya (1883) established the first *Ambacht* (Technical) schools. During the twentieth century, Masonic Congresses at times highlighted social and educational issues. At the 1911 Congress, for example, Brother Notodirodjo (at that time President of *Budi Utomo*) discussed the desire for education among leading Javanese.[59] Due to his initiative, non-parochial, so-called *Neutrale* Schools were founded by several lodges in Central and West Java. At the secondary school level, Masons in Semarang began a school for boys in 1867. Ten years later, a committee of Semarang residents headed by the Presiding Master of the Semarang Lodge was successful in persuading the government to establish a public secondary school.[60] A major breakthrough also occurred in the field of female education. Deeply concerned about the lack of non-parochial education for girls, Masons in Batavia and Surabaya rallied to remedy the situation. The Carpentier Alting Foundation in Batavia (which began its efforts in 1902) and the Genteng (a particular

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[58]Named after Friedrich W. Froebel, who developed the first kindergarten in Germany in 1837.

[59]De Visser Smits *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, Maatschappelijke Beteekenis en Doel*, p. 213.

[60]Ibid., p. 190.

district of Surabaya) school system not only created secondary schools but also Teacher Training Colleges and elementary schools for girls.

The second period of Masonic activity eased almost imperceptibly into the third (1910-1935). During this time, possibly stimulated by Masonic efforts, both the colonial government and the main religious organizations had become increasingly active in the social and educational field causing Masonic lodges to cease some of their involvement and transfer some of their schools to government control. Simultaneously, Masonic leaders began to stress the need for "in-house" spiritual activity. This trend, however, did not go unchallenged. As early as 1903 the *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift* published a *bouwstuk* (Masonic contemplation) by J. E. Herman de Groot of the Surabaya Lodge, which was sharply critical of the new trend. De Groot noted that the 1898 revised statutes of the Order permitted a much broader role and a critical stand in the social *and* political issues of the day. In De Groot's opinion, fear of splitting the Order had made Freemasonry into "philanthropy under a humanitarian flag. . .a conservatism touched up with a liberal finish" and an organization "ruled by popes and little popes."[61] A generation had to pass before a similar attack fell upon more receptive ears. The *bouwstuk* of J. F. A. M. Koning, originally presented at the Bandung Lodge *Sint-Jan*, and later published in the *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift* of 1929-30,[62] considered the reduced prestige of the Order in colonial society and the fact that several disillusioned Brothers had turned away from it. In his opinion, the

[61]"Politiek en Vrijmetselarij," *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift*, IX (1903-04): 450.

[62]"Onze Organisatie in verband met den Arbeid naar Buiten. Samenvatting van het Bouwstuk van Br.'. J. F. A. M. Koning opgeleverd in de Loge St. Jan te Bandoeng," *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift*, XXXV (1929-30): 561-69.

cause was that besides "philosophical contemplations, [Brothers] did not get to hear much else but [lectures] about symbolism and revision of rituals."[63] Koning's views received support from influential Masons. Dr. D de Visser Smits, for example, admitted that one probably had gone too far "in endlessly discussing, analyzing, and paraphrasing symbols and rituals."[64] He emphasized that although the lodges, as such, always remained aloof from political matters, this did *not* mean that individual members had to be indifferent to political *stroomingen* (currents).[65] He also supported Koning in his view that there was an urgent need for a larger Indonesian and Chinese membership.

Freemasonry in Indonesia had neither women's nor youth organizations. Although wives of Freemasons in all likelihood made an important contribution to the successful operation of various social and educational activities, they had no standing in the Order. The position and role of women in society did become a topic of discussion, however, in several lodges. The most elaborate attack on "conservatism" and "tradition" which continued to exclude women from the Order was delivered by Dr. De Visser Smits in a *bouwstuk* presented on April 8, 1917 at the Masonic Order's bicentennial convention.[66] His address probably lost some of its persuasiveness after Brother M. A. A. van Mook (the father of the Lt. Governor-General to be, H. J. van Mook), in recounting his personal experiences in Masonic work in *De Vriendschap*, revealed that he had been

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[63] Ibid., p. 564.

[64] De Visser Smits, "Met Toewijding Arbeiden aan het Welzijn der Gemeenschap," *Indisch Maçonniek Tijdschrift*, XXXV (1929-30): 552.

[65] Ibid., p. 555.

[66] *Gedenkboek*, pp. 567-76.

instrumental in the creation of a Woman's Lodge, *De Toekomst* (The Future), in 1911.[67] But, he observed, membership soon declined and eventually the few remaining Sisters requested that the Lodge be dissolved, with the comment that they always had considered what Brother van Mook had called "the solemn Temple work," merely *belachelijk gedoe* (child's play).[68]

Post World War II Developments. The Pacific War and Japanese occupation resulted in the closing of all lodges and the internment of most of its Dutch and Chinese members. In spite of this catastrophe and the subsequent Indonesian revolution, some ten lodges reopened in Dutch-controlled territories. The Provincial Master Convocation of the Order appears to have been very much aware of the profound political changes taking place In 1948, foreseeing the urgent need for Indonesian lodges, it unanimously expressed the opinion that lodges employing indigenous languages should be founded. Brother Tjondro Negoro, Regent of Semarang, was charged with investigating this possibility. His report urged caution, and warned that the creation of indigenous language lodges could be interpreted as a separatist device, similar to the colonial government's attempt to break up Indonesia into several Federal states.[69] The Executive Committee, however, continued to press ahead.

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[67] M. A. A. van Mook, "Eenige Herinneringen uit mijn Tienjarig Loge-leven," in *Gedenkboek*, p. 583. Van Mook's son, H. J. van Mook, was accepted as member at Mataram in 1921. During his lengthy stay in the Netherlands (1926-28), he was a member of the The Hague Lodge *Hiram Abiff*. Although he returned to Indonesia in 1928, he did not join a local lodge. His membership in *Hiram Abiff* continued until December 1935 when his name was officially removed from the membership list.

[68] Ibid., p. 584.

[69] *De Consecratie*, p. 8.

In 1949, the Master Convocation adopted a resolution urging the acceptance of as many Indonesian members as possible, the establishment of independent lodges, composed mainly of Indonesians, and the uniting of such lodges under a completely independent Grand Orient.[70]

Indonesia received its independence on December 27, 1949. The Executive Committee's request for an audience with President Soekarno led to a meeting on March 3, 1950.[71] The President opened the informal, one-hour discussion by expressing his appreciation for having the opportunity to meet with the delegation "because he had heard and read much about the Order, although mainly in a negative vein." This remark seems prophetic in light of the President's action a decade later. Committee members, however, spoke eloquently concerning the high aims of the Order. A member of the delegation recited Articles 2 and 3 of the Masonic Constitution (*see* Appendix A) which was followed by a brief exposition by the Grand Master of the purposes and goals of the Masonic Order. He emphasized that Masons "strove to improve humanity which could only be accomplished by knowledge of ourselves and our fellowmen but which never can be complete without a firm faith in Divine Omnipotence." The President then raised the several questions given below, together with answers by members of the delegation.[72]

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[70]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[71]Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[72]This information is based exclusively on the account provided in *De Consecratie*, pp. 12-14. The text has been slightly amended to better conform to the question and answer presentation provided here.

Questions by President Soekarno	*Answers by Members of the Delegation*
Do Masons think pantheistically or monotheistically?	There is room for both theisms in the Order provided there is a firm belief in Divine Omnipotence.
Are Atheists admitted to the Order?	These would not be likely to join us.
Are Masons freethinkers?	We respect everyone's religious view and do not profess a clearly prescribed uniform religion, but we definitely are no freethinkers.
Why is it that one says of Freemasonry that only the well-to-do are members?	This is a widely held misconception. We refer to the first duty of the Mason which is symbolized in the laying aside of his metals.
How did you get the name "masons" and why do you use the prefix "free" with it?	The concept of freemasonry can be looked at historically and ideally. Historically, we go back to the medieval guilds; ideally, to our architectural structure, the Temple of Humanity. The prefix "free" refers to the high regard which we have for the religious conviction of others so that anyone can contribute building materials in his own way.
Is it true that Masons always help each other?	We like to help a Brother, but we never will prefer him over the more-qualified non-mason.

Finally, the Brothers told the President that the Order "does not engage in politics and does not tolerate discussions about religious matters." They expressed confidence that "the principles of Freemasonry would touch a responsive chord among the great mass of understanding Indonesians." The last question of the President was one he himself qualified as a *zonderlinge vraag* (peculiar one): "Why do Indonesians still call the lodge *rumah setan*?" The answer to this question was that "[p]ossibly an air of mystery continues to hang over the lodge. This mysteriousness we very much would like to remove. Another possibility is that the word *setan* is a

corruption of *Sint Jan*, our patron."[73]

During the remainder of 1950 and most of 1951, the possibility of establishing Indonesian lodges was actively considered by Indonesian members and culminated in a meeting in Jakarta, attended by some 25 Indonesian Brothers, on December 13, 1951. There it was decided to establish an Indonesian Masonic Circle named *Purwo duk Sino* (Alpha and Omega) and to elect Brother S. Gondokoesoemo as Worshipful Master.[74] Following the death of Gondokoesoemo only three months later, the position was filled by R. A. A. Soemitro Kolopaking Poerbonegoro, a long-time Mason from an old Regent family in Bandjarnegara.[75] The solemn installation of the Lodge, then called *Purwa-Daksina*, followed in November 1952. During 1953 and 1954, three more lodges were formed: *Dharma* (Duty) in Bandung,

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[73]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[74]Ibid., p. 21. Gondokoesoemo became Minister of Agrarian Affairs during this same period.

[75]Soemitro Kolopaking had an unusual career. After graduating from Dutch high school in Batavia in 1907, he decided to go to Europe where he first worked as a dock worker in Rotterdam and a miner in Germany and Spain. He later studied at Leiden University. In 1914 he returned to Indonesia where he briefly held jobs in a pawnshop and as an employee of a tea and quinine estate. He then entered government service following a police training course. In 1919 he was appointed Police Officer in Bandung and three years later became Regional Commander of the Mobile Police of Old Priangan. That same year he became a Mason, a member of the Lodge *Sint Jan* in Bandung. Subsequently, at the request of his relatives in Banjumas, he became *Wedono* of Sumpiuh and succeeded his father as *Bupati* (Regent) of Bandjarnegara, Banjumas residency, in 1926. In this position Soemitro distinguished himself through entrepreneurial and agricultural extension activities. During the Indonesian Revolution he served as Resident of Pekalongan and joined the guerilla movement in Central Java after the first Dutch military action. In 1955 he was elected a member of the Indonesian Parliament. For the above and other information, see Soemitro's memoirs *Tjoret-Tjoretan Pengalaman Sepandjang Masa* (Yogyakarta: Balai Pembinaan Administrasi Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1969).

Pamitrian (Friendship) in Surabaya, and *Bhakti* (Service) in Semarang.

In mid-1954, the Worshipful Masters of the four lodges met and decided to request the formation of an Indonesian Grand Orient -- *Loge Timur Agung Indonesia* -- with headquarters in Jakarta. The installation and consecration of the new Grand Order took place on April 7, 1955 by the Most Worshipful Brother C. M. R. Davidson, Grand Master of the Grand Orient of the Netherlands. During the ceremonies, the Grand Master symbolically blessed the new Grand Lodge with *padi* (rice on the stalk) as a symbol of plenty, *water* as a symbol of joy and fertility, and *incense* as a symbol of peace, unity, and love.[76] The designated Grand Master of *Timur Agung Indonesia*, Brother Soemitro Kolopaking then was asked to place the opened Koran next to the Bible on the "Altar of Truth" (expressing the Masonic belief in a Divine Word) upon which he was consecrated as the first Grand Master of *Timur Agung Indonesia*.[77]

In spite of the completed organizational separation of the two Grand Orders, major problems remained, of which the political and economic ones were most critical.[78] Politically, the post-independence climate was strongly anti-colonial and anti-Dutch and the new Grand Order continued to be considered both "pro-Dutch" and to be in close contact with the Dutch. Such a situation, naturally, was not conducive to gaining new members or to active Masonic work. Moreover, of the slightly more than one hundred members, about fifty were members of the Jakarta Lodge. This Lodge was fortunate in that several of its members

[76] *De Consecretie*, p. 85.

[77] Ibid., pp. 87-88. *Timur Agung Indonesia* later changed its name to *Loge Agung Indonesia*.

[78] K. Lewin, "Opgericht . . . . Verboden in Indonesië," *Algemeen Maçonniek Tijdschrift*, XV, 22 (September 1, 1961), pp. 480-84.

were in influential positions. It also added to its membership in 1954 one of the most powerful Indonesian figures at the time, Raden Said Soekanto Tjokroadiatmodjo, Head of the State Police and later Minister of Police. (Soekanto, subsequently, became Worshipful Master of *Purwa-Daksina* and, in 1959, Grand Master of *Loge Agung Indonesia*).

The economic problem concerned the extensive Masonic real estate holdings and magnificent buildings in several major Indonesian cities which had not been transferred to *Timur Agung* ownership. Juridically, possession of these buildings seemed assured since the Masonic Order was a legally recognized organization in Indonesia, but Indonesian Brothers felt uncomfortable with the situation and continued to press for a transfer of these possessions to the Indonesian Grand Orient. This finally came about in mid-1960.[79] But time had run out: both political and economic considerations, and the conditions prevailing during the height of "Guided Democracy" doomed the infant Indonesian Grand Orient. On February 27, 1961, President Soekarno exorcised the spirit of the *Rumah Setan* by signing into law the Order of the High Military Command which banned the organization on the basis that it had "its base and source outside Indonesia" and was not "in accord with the *kepribadian nasional* (national identity)."[80] The depressing task of extinguishing the lights of *Purwa-Daksina* was carried out on March 9, 1961, in the presence of the Indonesian Grand Master, which ended almost two centuries of Masonic work in Indonesia.[81]

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[79]Ibid., pp. 481-84.

[80]Lewin, "Opgericht . . . Verboden in Indonesië," *Algemeen Maçonniek Tijdschrift*, XV, 21 (August 1, 1961): 455.

[81]"Brieven uit Indonesië," *Algemeen Maçonniek Tijdschrift*, XV, 16 (May 1, 1961): 350.

APPENDIX A

Extract from the Constitution of the Order of Freemasons under the Grand Orient of the Netherlands

(adopted March 1, 1917)

Article 2

1. Freemasonry represents that attitude of mind arising from one's inward seeking which reveals itself in a continual effort toward developing all those spiritual and mental qualities which lift the individual and mankind to a higher intellectual and moral plane. Its application lies in the practice of the highest art of living.

2. The Order, an independent congregation belonging to the worldwide brotherhood of Masons, aims to be a common center for the practice of the art of living and strives for the varied and harmonious development of the indivdual and mankind.

3. The Order is based on a firm belief in the reality of an intellectual and moral world order which motivates man and mankind.

4. The Order further acknowledges as basic premises the recognition of:

   the infinite value of human personality;

   one's right to seek after the truth independently;

   man's moral responsibility for his actions;

   the basic equality of all human beings;

   the universal brotherhood of mankind; and

   one's duty to labor with dedication for the common good.

Article 3

1. The Order attempts to reach its goal by having its organization and local fellowship adhere to the principles defined in Article 2 and by pervading society with these principles.

2. The Order works towards this goal, partly in its own unique way with the help of symbols and rituals as expressions of ideals and thoughts which represent the highest art of living, partly by encouraging everything that can change intellectual poverty and moral and material misery into intellectual and moral abundance and material well-being.

3. The Order fosters tolerance, practices righteousness, promotes love of one's neighbor, seeks that which unites individuals and groups, tries to eliminate that which divides minds and hearts, and leads to a higher unity by creating the consciousness of all-embracing brotherhood.

4. The Order demands obedience to the laws of the land.

Translated by the author from *Gedenkschrift Uitgegeven bij Gelegenheid van het 125-jarig Bestaan* [of the Lodge "De Vriendschap"], *28 November 1934* (NIMEF, Malang, 1935), pp. 13-14.

APPENDIX B

INDONESIAN AND CHINESE MASONS, 1922-1940*

Name	*Occupation and/or Function***
A. Indonesian Masons	
Abas Soeria Nata Atmadja, R.	Regent, Serang (B); Regent, Cianjur (C)
Achmad Probonegoro, Rd. T. A.	Regent, Batavia (B); Former Regent, Batavia and Semarang (C)
Ariodinoto, R. M. A. P.	Regent, Ceribon (A); Former Regent Pemalang, 1908-1920
Aroeng Binang, R. T.	Regent, Kebumen (A)
Asikin Natanegara, R.	Police Commissioner First Class, Mr. Cornelis (B); Karang Anjing (C)
Boediardjo, M.	Assistant Inspector of Native Education, Malang (A)
Darto Soegondo, R. M.	Wedono, Singosari (B)
Djojo Adi Negoro, R. T.	Regent, Lamongan (A)
Djojonegoro, K. R. Ad. (also B. K. O. A. A.)	Territorial Administrator, Solo (A); (B); Regent of the Self-governing Territory, Surakarta (C)
Gondokoesoemo, Rd. Mr.	Chairman of District Court, Magelang (C)
Hamzah, Mohd.	Indies Doctor, Pematang Siantar (A); (B); (C)
Hardjodipoero, R. Ng.	Medical Doctor, Solo (A); (B)
Hoedin, Tengkoe Amir	Indies Doctor, Medan (C)
Hoedioro, Ir. M.	Engineer, Bureau of Public Works, Padang (B); Engineer, Transportation and Public Works, Purwakarta (C)
Kamarga, R.	Chief Supervisor, Bureau of Public Works, Batavia (B); Archivist, Transportation and Public Works (C)
Kamil, R.	Former Asst. Inspector of Native Elementary Education, Weltevreden (A); Yogya (B); (C). Member of the Volksraad, 1918-1924

APPENDIX B (continued)

Indonesian Masons (continued)

Karnin, Mr. Tgkoe Dzul	Chairman of District Court, Sawahlunto (C)
Kawilarang, Dr. J. A. J.	Army Health Officer, Surabaya (B); Bandung (C)
Koesman, R.	Medical Doctor, Bandung (A)
Koesoemojoedho, K. H. P. (also K. Pg. A.)	Head of Palace Services, Surakarta (C)
Koesoemo Joedo, Pg. A. A.	Regent, Ponorogo (A); Member of the Council of the Indies, 1930-34 (B). Controller, Native Agricultural Credit Bank, 1906-1916; Member Volksraad, 1918-1929
Mangoenkoesoemo, Ir. D.	Chief Industrial Consultant, Surabaya (C)
Marjitno, Mas	Government Indies Doctor, Surabaya (C)
Marsoem, R.	Wedono, Parakan (B)
Moetalib, M. (also R.)	Veterinarian, Buitenzorg (A); Government Veterinarian, Buitenzorg (B)
Mohamad, R.	Listed but no further information (A); Wedono, Semarang (B); Retired Patih (C)
Nitidhipoero, R. R.	Asst. Chief Prosecutor, Yogya (A); Chief District Prosecutor for His Highness the Sultan, Yogya (B)
Notoadiprodjo, M.	Patih, Sidoardjo (A); Retired Patih (B)
Oetarijo, R. M.	Controller, Central Treasury, Pekalongan (B)
Pakoe Alam, P. A. A.	Head of the House of Pakoe Alam, Yogya (A)
Patah Koesoemo, Rd.	Wedono, Panolan, Cepu (C)
Poerbo Hadiningrat, R. M. A. A.	Regent, Semarang (A), 1897-1923
Poerbo Soedibio, R. M.	Asst. Registrar, State Railways, Bandung (B); Registrar, State Railways, Batavia (C)
Poernomo Hadiningrat, R. M. T. A.	Regent, Brebes (A); Former Regent, Boyolali (B); (C)
Prawata, R. (also R. M.)	Asst. Wedono, Yogya (A); Patih, Banjarnegara (B)
Said, Prawirosastro, R.	Wedono, Sidoarjo (B); Regent (C)
Sarsito, Ir. R. M.	Engineer, Bureau of Public Works, Chief of Mangkunegaran Irrigation, Solo (B)
Sarsito Mangoenkoesoemo, Ir.	Chief of Mangkunegaran Works, Solo (C)

Indonesian Masons (continued)

Sarwoko Mangoenkoesoemo, R. M. Ng.	Secretary, Mangkunegaran, Solo (A); Regent-Patih, Mangkunegaran, Solo (B); (C)
Sewaka, Mas	Patih, Indramayu (C)
Sigid Prawiro, Rd.	Drainage Officer, Opak-Progo, Yogya (C)
Soebali, R. M.	Wedono, Bumiayu (B); Wedono, Purbolingga (C)
Soebroto, Mr. R. Ng.	Appointed Member, East Java Provincial Assembly, Surabaya (B); Mayor, Madiun (C)
Soedjono, M. (Rd.)	Acting Controller of Civil Service, Semarang (A); Patih, Yapara (B); (C)
Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, R.	Translator, Yogya (B); Patih, Blora (C)
Soegondo, R. M.	Army Infantry Captain, Gombong (A)
Soejono, R. A. A.	Regent, Pasaruan (A); Member of Volksraad, Batavia (B); Member of the Council of the Indies, Batavia (C)
Soemeroe, R.	Physician, Buitenzorg (A); Physician, Insane Asylum, Solo (B); Retired Government Indies Doctor (C)
Soemitro Kolopaking Poerbonegoro, R. A. A.	Regent, Banjarnegara (B); (C)
Soeparto, R.	Special Chairman of District Court, Surabaya (B); (C)
Soeparwi, Mas	Veterinarian, Kupang (C)
Soeprapto, Rd.	Wedono, Wiradesa (Pekalongan), (C)
Soerachman Tjokroadisoeria, Ir. R. M. P.	Regent, N. Bantam, Serang (B); Chief Officer, Department of Economic Affairs, Batavia (C)
Soeria Mihardja, R. A. A.	Regent, Krawang, Purwakarta (C)
Soerja, R.	Supervisor, Provincial Works, Buitenzorg (A)
Soerjatin, R.	Government Doctor, Surabaya (B); C. Also Masonic Provincial Grand Orator (C)
Soerjo, R.	Wedono, Kertesono (A); Supervisor of Provincial Works (B)
Soerjo, R. T. A. A.	Regent, Pekalongan (B); (C)
Soerjo, Rd.	Architect, Provincial Water Works, Batavia (C)
Soerjoadmodjo, R. M. A. (also P. A.)	Regent-Patih, Paku Alam Territory, Yogya (B); (C)
Soerjodiprodjo, R.	Patih, Temanggung (B)

Indonesian Masons (continued)

Soerohadi Widjojo Patik, R.	Occupational information not provided (A)
Soerjo Soearso, K. P. H. (also listed as Soetarso and Soerarso)	Secretariat Officer, Mangkunegaran, Surakarta (B); Control Bureau Mangkunegaran, Surakarta (C)
Soetedjo, R.	Veterinarian, Weltevreden (A); Batavia (B)
Soetedjo, Ir. M.	Engineer Second Class, Provincial Water Works, Semarang (B); Tegal (C)
Soetioso Sosro Boesono	Sub-District Chief First Class, Margorejo (B); Wedono, Tegal (C)
Soetirto, R.	Wedono, Prembun (A)
Soetirto Pringo Haditirto, R. T.	Regent, Brebes (B)
Soetisno, Dr. M.	Provincial Veterinarian, Kudus (B); Government Veterinarian, Madiun (C)
Sosroatmodjo, R. M.	Medical Doctor, Madiun (A)
Sosrodiprodjo, R.	Patih, Purwokerto (B); Patih (C)
Sosrodiprodjo, R. T. A.	Regent, Wonosobo (A); (B); (C)
Sosrohadikoesoemo, R. M. (also R. Ng.)	Controller, Government Pawn Shop, Tegal (A); Provincial Representative, Central Java, Semarang (B); Volksraad Representative, Batavia. Also Masonic Provincial Grand Secretary (C)
Sosrohadiwidjojo, R. T.	Regent, Demak (B). Member of Volksraad, 1921-31
Tjokro Adikoesoemo, R. M. A. A.	Regent, Temanggung (A), (1902-1922); Former Regent (B); (C)
Tjondro Negoro, R. T. A.	Regent, Sidoarjo (A)
Wedioningrat, R. T.	Medical Doctor, Solo (A)
Wiranatakoesoema, R. A. A.	Regent, Bandung (B), 1920-1931. Regent, Cianjur, 1912-1920; Member of Volksraad, 1922-1935
Wisaksono Wirjodihardjo, M.	Analyst, Experimental Station, Buitenzorg (B); Chief Analyst, Buitenzorg (C)
Wreksodiningrat, R. T.	Regent, Solo (A)

APPENDIX B (continued)

B. Chinese Masons

Go Ing Djoe	Merchant, Surabaya (B); Attorney, Sioe Liem Kongsi, Surabaya (C)
Han Tjiong King	Major of Chinese, Surabaya (A); (B)
Ho, Siem Soe	Assistant Accountant, Tax Department, Makassar (C)
Ko Kwat Tiong, Mr.	Attorney, Surabaya (C). Member of Volksraad, 1935-1939
Ko, M. A.	In private business, Yogya (A)
Ko, Tj. M.	Lieutenant of Chinese, Yogya (A)
Kwee Zwan Lwan	In private business, Linggajati (C)
Lie, D. G.	Merchant, Magelang (A); Captain of Chinese (B)
Lie, T. G.	Merchant, Magelang (A); (B); Semarang (C)
Liem, Bwan Tjie	Architect, Semarang (C)
Liem, Hwie Liat	Corporation Director, Surabaya (B); Director, San Liem Kongsi, Surabaya (C)
Loa Sek Hie	In private business. Member of Volksraad, Batavia (C), 1929-1942
Ong Swan Yoe, Mr. Ir.	Engineer. Dept. of Transportation and Irrigation, Palembang (C)
Tan In Hok	Lieutenant of Chinese, Batavia (B)
Tan Kong Sam	Director, Tania Construction Co., Semarang (C)
Tan Sin Hok, Dr. Ir.	Paleontologist, Bandung (C)
Tan, T. L.	In private business (A); Director, Exploitation Co., Cimangis, Batavia (B)
Tjin Siang Oey	Indies Doctor, Salatiga (C)
Tjoa Soe Tjong, Drs.	Bank Agent, Surabaya (B); Agent, Oei Tiong Ham Bank, Semarang (C)

*Based upon *Alphabetische Ledenlijst van de Loges behoorende tot de Provinciale Grootloge van Nederlandsch-Indië. Juli 1922* (Javasche Boekhandel en Drukkerij, Weltevreden, 1922); *Alphabetische Ledenlijst . . . 1932* (n.p., n.p., n.d.); and *Ledenlijst . . . 1940-1941* (NIMEF, Malang, 1941).

**This information is identified as "A" (for the membership list of 1922), "B" (for 1932), and "C" (for 1940-41) in the column on *"Occupation and/or Function."*



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